# HUMAN EVENTS

Vol. XIV, No. 17 Saturday, April 27, 1957 Washington, D. C.

*Printed in Two Sections*

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## News Section

**Inside the GOP:** What are Republicans in the Nation's Capital saying about their party today?

The one big fact which shapes the attitude of Republicans — at least conservative Republicans, who make up 90 per cent of the party — is the veritable popular uprising know as the "public demand for economy." It came as unexpected, even to conservatives, and by this time it is regarded as almost a gift of Providence; indeed, the biggest political asset since 1932. They make no bones of saying it is not merely a GOP trend, but a general "conservative" trend, which may prove irresistible and sweep them into full power ere long. With this in mind, they scornfully (perhaps too scornfully) watch the Democrats try to take the issue away from them. And they deride the "modern Republicans," who are only a handful anyway and are getting fewer as time goes on.

How about these "modern Republicans"? They are, in fact, only a baker's half-dozen in the Senate and a score in the House. Their morale is badly shaken, not only because they too sense the "conservative trend," but also because the White House shows no respect for them, nor indeed gives them as much notice as it gives to the conservatives of the party. As a matter of fact, most "modern Republicans" on the Hill hate the White House more thoroughly than do the conservative Republicans. Some of them get even less patronage than the followers of Taft — which is saying something! All this helps explain why "modern Republicans" is becoming a "dirty word" around the town.

How do the conservative Republicans feel about Ike now that he's shown his hand in the Budget? Well, "they all prefer Edgar," as the saying goes. Some who believed his "campaign oratory" of 1952 suffer from disillusionment. But many more never did have much confidence in Ike. Some recall him when he lived in Washington as Chief of Staff after the war, and when he was regarded as a sort of New Dealer, even as a New Deal Democrat. They are not surprised at his big Budget spending.

Whatever the nuance of feeling towards him now in private, conservative Republicans conceal it publicly for reasons of "party harmony." So they vent their spleen even more on the Palace Guard. Actually, few of the Republicans want Ike's blessing in 1958 or 1960. Since the election last November they are convinced that his coattails have no magic. (Malone? He wants any blessing he can get. Malone was a political accident in a Democratic state in 1946, got re-elected in 1952 — thanks to a Democrat, Senator Pat McCarran — and is now fighting desperately for his political life. His best hope is that the Nevada Democrats will split.)

Who is the leader of the conservatives? Knowland, without any rival. He has character, courage and political savvy (the last of which Taft did not have). They smile indulgently at the necessary compromises Knowland has to make with the White House, if he wants to continue as GOP Senate leader. Bridges is his strong backer and collaborator. There exists remarkable unity among GOP members of Congress in favor of "Knowland in 1960."

The conservatives are convinced he will run for and capture the position of Governor of California in '58. As such, he'll go to the convention in '60 with a big delegation and will win the nomination. There are even "modern Republicans" who gloomily share this conviction.

What about Nixon? Here it gets complicated. Nixon's stock is very low among Republicans just now. "He's become the captive of the Palace Guard." But this sort of criticism is not overt. Why? Because most of the critics think it highly likely that Ike will not live out his term and that Nixon might any day succeed to the Presidency — with all that implies as to control of the party. It's a grim actuarial guess.

If Ike dies and Nixon takes over — what then? Nixon owes a debt of gratitude to the Right Wingers because they backed him and insured his renomination against the Palace Guard and the Stassen supporters. But, "Dick was never strong on political gratitude" is one common remark. Most Republicans unhappily expect that he'll just continue the Eisenhower "modern GOP" policy. But others dissent. They say, "Dick's a realist above all. He's elastic and he sees that the trend is to the Right. He'll turn in that direction."

Be that as it may. Conservative Republicans on Capitol Hill prefer to hope that Ike will live out his term. If he does, they firmly believe that Nixon is a "gone goose" and that Knowland is for surety the candidate.

**Labor Front:** Followers of the labor union movement are amazed by the huge protest vote (more than a third of the total cast) polled by an unknown rank-and-filer opposing David McDonald's bid for re-election as president of the United Steel Workers. This

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development has profoundly stirred Capitol Hill, which is carefully studying its implications.

Official returns in the USW balloting, released during the past week, gave 404,172 votes to McDonald, and 223,516 to Donald C. Rarick, 37-year old furnace charger in a U. S. Steel plant at McKeesport, Pa., whose name was unknown outside his home district until he organized a committee last September to protest a USW convention action increasing dues from $3 to $5 a month.

The convention also had voted to raise McDonald's salary from $40,000 to $50,000, and to give two of his top aids similar $10,000 raises. Resentment against the combination of the dues and salary raises was a major factor in Rarick's surprisingly large vote.

Another factor, largely overlooked in interpretative commentaries, was a substantial resentment against McDonald's blatant Democratic politicking last fall with union funds and facilities, including his ardent advocacy of New York's Governor Averell Harriman at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago last August. That many of his union's members do not agree with his politics is evidenced by the fact that Pennsylvania's Allegheny County, including the Pittsburgh steel mill area, went Republican in November for the first time since 1932.

But what makes Rarick's vote most significant is the fact that the entire facilities, and treasury, of the union's national organization were unblushingly thrown into the campaign for McDonald's re-election.

The union, at a cost of more than $1,000,000, financed a series of regional meetings intended to acquaint rank-and-filers with wage and other contractual benefits achieved for them under McDonald's administration. It paid for full-page newspaper advertisements in several steel mill cities, to the same end, just before the voting.

The union's staff workers, regarding their jobs as purely patronage of the administration in power, campaigned assiduously for McDonald's re-election; reports are current that they also anted up to a special private fund to further his cause. In short, McDonald appropriated — or rather misappropriated — union funds and machinery to perpetuate his power.

Supporters of the unknown Rarick, on the other hand, financed his campaign by passing the hat at meetings of their rank-and-file Dues Protest Committee. And in spite of all this, he polled more than half as many votes as did the entrenched, heavily backed McDonald. If the election had been fairly conducted, he might have won — such is a common conclusion.

**This blatant violation of "democracy" in a major union calls for McClellan Committee investigation, says Capitol Hill. Beck steals $1 million from the Teamsters union treasury for personal expenditure. McDonald steals $1 million from union funds to thwart minority protests and perpetuate himself as union boss. The CIO leader's offense against rights of union members is just as flagrant as that of the AFL chieftain.**

**Democratic Front:** Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson has just come out criticizing Administration foreign policy as "phony law and fuzzy morals"; this from the man who sent the U.S. into the Korean war under the legal guise of a "UN police action," and whose moral sense was so great that he said he could not "turn his back on Alger Hiss."

Actually, Washington interprets this sort of outburst as just part of a developing Democratic plan to rehabilitate the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations (in which Acheson played roles) in preparation for overthrow of the Republicans in 1960. Magazine articles, pamphlets and books make up this propaganda campaign aimed at restoring the "Roosevelt Myth" as preliminary to regaining power. (See "The Roosevelt Myth," by John T. Flynn, in the article section of this issue.)

**Budget:** Despite the Congressional recess, the battle of the Budget continues. Those left on Capitol Hill think the trend this week is a little more favorable for economy. For instance, they see one sign which indicates that the Senate may prove even more economy-minded than the House (which has cut more than $1 billion out of the Budget so far). In the past it has been the other way — the Senate usually restored cuts the House had made. Now key figures in the Senate talk of increasing the big slash the House made in the Administration's request for $144 million for the United States Information Agency (USIA)— cutting it over 25 per cent to a total of $106 million.

Senator Mike Mansfield, Democratic Party whip, wants to bring the total down to about $50 million. Other Senators talk of $10 or $20 million cuts in this measure which the House left at $106 million, an outcome which the President loudly denounced as "false economy."

Sentiment is scarcely in agreement with the President in this press-conscious town. Many members of the press are severely critical of the waste and extravagence in USIA. You can hear it said that it's a "WPA project for ex-newspapermen who can't hold a job on any sheet." These USIA employees live in style in far-off places and are usually shunted around from post to post every year, with the taxpayer paying the tab for expenses of the moving of family, family car and goods from one remote place to another.

If the Senate takes a similar attitude towards other money bills sent it by the House, the $71.8 billion Budget will easily be reduced.

However, no one is sure that will happen, nor does anyone underestimate the difficulties. Examination of the President's apparently handsome offer (in a letter to Speaker Rayburn) to cut about $1.8 billion, turns out to be largely a bookkeeping sug-

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gestion, with merely a reduction on some future spending projects. The common estimate is that it offers a chance for only about $500,000,000 cut in expenditure in the coming fiscal year. Republican wheelhorse Senator Styles Bridges, it is noticed, exhibited coolness to the Presidential offer, said it represented "progress," but that a lot more cutting would have to be done.

What will be the outcome? One clue — key members of Congress today set the following goals: cuts of at least $3 billion from the $71.8 billion budget and out of this reduction at least $1 billion will be from foreign aid.

**Bureaucratic Blackmail:** Washingtonians observing the skill with which Postmaster General Summerfield extorted additional funds from Congress recall that this tactic has ample precedent. HUMAN EVENTS noted (April 13), that Truman's Postmaster Donaldson had exercised similar pressure in 1950, but veteran analysts of the bureaucracy point out that the "sitdown strike" has not been limited to the Post Office Department alone.

In 1947, the Republican-controlled House of Representatives made a small cut in funds for the Bureau of Customs. Instead of making proportionate economies all along the line to conform with this reduction, the Bureau immediately began firing its border patrol agents. Result: a public outcry that American borders were being left open to smugglers.

Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N.H.) branded the layoff of the patrol agents as a "brazen campaign" to gouge appropriations from the Congress — declaring that after a cut of less than ten per cent by the House, 80 per cent of the Bureau's patrol agents were fired.

It is possible, say veterans on the Hill, that Summerfield was encouraged in his recent action by the success of the Customs Bureau's maneuver: in late May of 1947, the Senate restored $1.5 million to the Customs budget, so that the patrol agents could be rehired. But, it is added, if Summerfield was taking his cues from this earlier episode, he should also have considered this fact: during the patrol agent dispute, President Truman removed Commissioner of Customs W. R. Johnson from his post, and farmed him out as a delegate to the U.N. Conference on Trade and Employment.

**Ferment In Canada:** The furor over the death of Canadian envoy E. Herbert Norman has discredited the "liberals" who touched it off and who hoped to gain by it — such is this week's emphatic verdict on Capitol Hill. After a week of outraged comment by Canadian Minister of External Affairs Lester Pearson and numerous "liberal" pundits in America, industrious Canadian journalists succeeded in rooting out some of the facts about the Norman case. The result was a sudden reversal in Canadian opinion.

Writing in the Montreal *Gazette*, columnist Arthur Blakely scathed Pearson for six years of "trimming, shuffling, and embroidering," which kept the facts about Norman from the Canadian public. Now, Blakely notes, Pearson himself confirms "the essential truth of statements that the late Ambassador . . . had 'Communist associations' — and had himself 'had mistaken beliefs and had been following a false ideology' — statements which for six years [Pearson] had angrily repudiated as 'unsupported insinuations,' 'innuendoes' born of malice, and 'slanders' deserving only of contempt."

Another influential Canadian columnist, George Bain of the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, also flayed Pearson for his reluctance to speak unequivocally about the Norman case, and blasted Pearson's threat of refusing security information to U.S. authorities as "90 per cent a sham."

This line of attack was followed by Canadian Opposition Leader John Diefenbaker, who repeatedly challenged Pearson to say that "the statements made before the Subcommittee of the United States on March 13 and 21 were untrue and unjustified and have no basic fact." Pearson answered: "I am not going to say at this moment whether any single statement made in a United States Subcommittee is accurate or not."

Pearson's reluctance to deal openly with the facts is now being noted in connection with the suicide notes which Norman allegedly wrote before his death. On April 18, the New York *Daily News* published a version of these notes which, if accurate, indicates no connection whatever between Norman's death and the disclosures of the Internal Security Subcommittee.

**As HUMAN EVENTS goes to press, the Canadian Government, while branding the *News* version of the notes as a "fabrication," has refused to release its own version of them. Thus the questions being asked on both sides of the border: if the *News* version is false, why doesn't Pearson publish the notes? What is he covering up?**

**Kohler Wins:** The balance sheet, in dollars, of the Kohler strike, including the famous countrywide boycott of Kohler products, has begun to appear in the press. The union's expenses are of such magnitude that the McClellan Committee is planning to investigate them. They are estimated to be as follows: $10 million in strike benefits, plus $2 million in other expenses (including the cost of promoting the boycott).

What has it cost Kohler? The union claims it has cost the company between $25 and $35 million. President Herbert Kohler denies this, says the company has held production close to normal. Kohler has published no annual reports but *The Milwaukee Journal* delved into the Wisconsin state income tax records and found some indicative evidence. In 1953 (last pre-strike year), Kohler paid $390,509 in state income taxes. In 1954 (the worst part of the strike), it paid only $124,144. But in 1955, the taxes rose to $455,261 and in 1956 were $336,856.

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In the plumbing goods trade, it is recognized that Kohler is maintaining its position (long held) as the No. 2 producer close to the traditional leader, American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corp. Kohler Company claims that the boycott has actually helped it.

Certainly no reflection of hard times marks the fighting speech made by President Herbert V. Kohler on "Can a Free Economy Tolerate Union Violence? — The Menace of UAW-CIO Coercion," given before the Economic Club of Detroit, on February 25, 1957. In the speech, and in the answers Kohler gave to questions from the floor, there is much material on goon violence which will undoubtedly be explored by the McClellan Committee's forthcoming hearings. (Copies of Mr. Kohler's speech may be obtained from Kohler Company, Kohler, Wisconsin.)

**Between Covers:** *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Conservatism*, by Russell Kirk; Devin-Adair; $2.75.

In 1928 Fabian George Bernard Shaw published his *Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, a book which influenced both men and women. Now Professor Russell Kirk, believing that "women have become the most determined conservatives in modern society," has furnished a counterweight to Shaw's volume. In doing so, he has turned out a concise handbook which will serve to introduce many to the sound moral and political principles that underlie American conservatism, and which will refresh the minds of those others who have covered similar terrain already.

Dr. Kirk considers conservative belief from several aspects: as it relates to the family, the individual, religion, the community. Especially valuable are his chapters on "Conservatives and Private Property," and "Conservatives and Education."

In the first of these Dr. Kirk makes the double point that (a) "conservatism" incorporates such real social advances as the freedoms secured by the American Revolution, and that (b) private property is such an advance, whereas "collective" ownership is a primitive concept, which flourished "at the dawn of social existence."

In his chapter on education, Dr. Kirk states forthrightly that the purpose of education should be "to develop the mental and moral faculties of the individual person, for the person's own sake," and proceeds to direct some devastating comment at the "adjustment to the group" pretensions of the "progressive" educationists.

This is a useful introduction to conservative thought, and should lead to a wider readership of Dr. Kirk's other valuable books.

● *The Echo of Greece*, by Edith Hamilton; W. W. Norton & Co., $3.95.

This is a disturbing, but at the same time encouraging, book. Disturbing, because as Miss Hamilton describes the last days of free Athens, it becomes clear that the symptoms of its failure have striking parallels in modern America. Encouraging, because the values that made Athens great have lived for thousands of years after "Greek civilization" came to an end, and because it is still in our power, today, to preserve them.

Miss Hamilton's book, a Book-of-the-Month Club selection, is rich in insight. The genius of Greek civilization, she points out, like that of American Civilization, was "freedom" — the freedom of responsible men to govern themselves. Miss Hamilton cites the injunction of Pericles: "The individual can be trusted. Let him alone." Once the Greeks forgot their legacy of freedom and self-reliance and turned to the Government for their support, the genius of Athens was snuffed out.

It is impossible to read Miss Hamilton's description of this process of decay without thinking of contemporary America. Describing the indifference of Athenians to governmental corruption, she remarks: "They were getting in one way and another comfortable assistance from the government." She continues: "What the people wanted was a government which would provide a comfortable life for them, and with this as the foremost object, ideas of freedom and self-reliance and service to the community were obscured to the point of disappearing."

On the subject of Greek taxes, Miss Hamilton points out that "the larger and larger funds demanded made heavier and heavier taxation necessary, but that troubled only the well-to-do, always a minority, and no one gave a thought to the possibility that the source might be taxed out of existence. Politics was now closely connected with money, quite as much as voting . . . Votes were for sale, as well as officials."

Those who wish to prevent history from repeating itself should study and circulate this wise and readable volume.

● *The American Fluoridation Experiment*, by F. B. Exner, M.D., and G. L. Waldbott, M.D.; edited by James Rorty; Devin-Adair; $3.75.

Two doctors and a highly informed layman here offer a devastating criticism of America's fluoridation program. A barrage of factual information is leavened with a plain-spoken attack on the forces that have attempted to force through schemes of compulsory fluoridation. "The most alarming aspect of the fluoridation program," writes James Rorty in his introduction, "is the reckless arrogance, obstinancy, and unscrupulousness of the United States Public Health Service in continuing to promote the program while ignoring and, where possible, suppressing evidence that it is neither safe nor genuinely efficacious."

The book's thesis is two-fold: (1) that fluoridation is of doubtful value, and (2) that it is of proven harm (it is "cumulatively poisonous"). The argument is massively documented, and the fluoridators, if they wish to gain the respect of the public, must match the authors fact for fact. This book is a must for everyone even remotely concerned with the subject of fluoridation.

All books reviewed or condensed in HUMAN EVENTS may be obtained, at the bookstore price, from The Bookmailer, Box 101 Murray Hill Station, New York 16, N. Y.

**Letter from REV. EDWARD J. WHELAN, S.J., Director of Development, University of San Francisco:** "I have been a subscriber to HUMAN EVENTS almost from the very start; and always find it most informing and enlightening. Keep up the good work."

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HUMAN EVENTS, 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., is a weekly newsletter reporting from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. Published usually in two sections: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article section. Entered as second class matter at Washington, D. C. Copyright 1957.

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Vol. XIV, No. 17 HUMAN EVENTS April 27, 1957

**Article Section**

**This article is a condensation of John T. Flynn's *The Roosevelt Myth.* Copies of this classic, revised to include information available through 1956, may be obtained from HUMAN EVENTS at the bookstore price of $3.95.**

# THE ROOSEVELT MYTH

## *A Reappraisal*

*By* JOHN T. FLYNN

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IN THE light of events and the part that Franklin D. Roosevelt played upon the broad stage of the depression and the war, we may ask — what manner of man was he?

Beginning with that first inaugural address, as the nation sank down into almost total collapse, Roosevelt by some alchemy was suddenly transformed into a sort of demigod — one of the great statesmen of all time. The backdrop of this performance was a scene of disorder and dislocation, the banks closed, business at a standstill, the people aghast at the enormity of the disaster. And then, as if by magic, Roosevelt strode upon the stage as if he carried with him a magician's wand. He was a superb actor. He had in his pocket a speech written for him by a master. His voice rang out over the frightened nation like the clarion call of a great prophet and marshal rolled into one. The magical effect of this single performance remained fixed in millions of minds for many years.

Roosevelt cultivated assiduously the impression that he was a great lover of the common man. And he at times liked to play the role of a good fellow, which he did with some histrionic talent. But Roosevelt was a good deal of a snob as he started life. He was the spoiled only child of middle-aged parents. His mother was a total snob. She never got over a sense of personal injury at what seemed to her the rowdy invasion of her home in Hyde Park by politicians and the press when Roosevelt became a candidate for Governor and later a candidate for the Presidency. The invasion of her home by a lot of newspapermen she looked on as a violation of its calm and dignity.

Roosevelt's early snobbery as a youth may have been due to the attitude of his parents and to the manner in which he was shielded from the common world. At Groton, his preparatory school, he was not "one of the boys." This was true at Harvard also, though in a lesser degree. He made the football team, but he had not yet learned the gentle art of fraternization. Later when he entered the New York State Legislature, he kept to himself for a long time.

When Roosevelt entered the White House in March, 1933, the one and consuming problem that challenged his mind was the depression. It was precisely in this field that Roosevelt found himself in a wilderness. His blood was stirred by the immensely dramatic effect of his inauguration and the speech he had delivered. But he was then confronted with a call for action — practical measures to check the crisis and more practical methods to set our historic system in motion again. And at this point, the man was shockingly helpless and hopeless.

Roosevelt was not a student of ideas. He liked politics and he had a flair for it. But this crisis called for talents of a wholly different nature. He had also a certain dynamic personal quality — the kind one finds in romantic actors. And there is no doubt that in this moment of crisis, he became infused with the spirit of the great drama. He saw himself strutting the boards to almost continuous applause. He loved politics and was a talented politician. But he was now called on to deal with grave social and economic values which he understood hardly at all. Of all the gaudy and cracked schemes he fathered and promoted, it must be said that he neither invented nor discovered any of them. Befuddled and bewildered by the immensity of the disorder, he was a shining mark for every crackpot who appeared with some new project for producing recovery and abundance.

He *was* a politician, however. Politicians know that the great instrument of power in government is money. When Roosevelt took office in 1933, the Federal Government spent $3.8 billion. In 1934, Roosevelt spent $6 billion. In 1935, he spent over $7 billion, and

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$8.5 billion in 1936. The political power in these billions was somethng the politicos could understand far more clearly than the heady mixture of socialistic and fascistic philosophy which the New Dealers peddled.

The central meaning of this, aside from its fiscal folly, is that the American politician, without troubling his pragmatic mind with the meaning of words, has discovered socialism — and embraced it — not as a great system of social organization, but as a wondrous machine for the purpose of buying votes — buying immense pressure groups with favors, laws, and above all, vast appropriations. Here are some samples:

In 1927 the Federal Government spent $155,000,000 on Agriculture. In 1953 is spent over *three billion.*

In 1927 it spent roughly ten million dollars on the Labor Department. In 1953 it spent 300 million.

In 1927 it spent 19 million on health, education, and welfare. In 1953 it spent a little short of *two billion.*

At the same time the power of the Presidency has been shockingly expanded. In 1928 all the expenses of the President's office amounted to $585,000. In 1953 they amounted to nearly *six billion dollars.*

These vast sums are spent ostensibly by something called government. But, in fact, they come into the hand of and are spent by the politicians who operate government. Thus they can be used to purchase the support of large minorities. A clear and present case which has now been carried to the point of embarrassment and folly is the introduction of the baleful system of militarism into America as a permanent institution.

Once established it becomes the most cherished economic institution of the politicians. Out of a budget of 65 billion dollars in 1955, the costs of military, naval, and related activities were over 40 billion dollars. This is a wonderful weapon for the officials in power. The enormous expenditures take some three million men out of the labor supply and put them in the armed services. At the same time it makes business for what may be called the military industry. Last year one large corporation alone got a billion and a half dollars in contracts from the Federal Government — although we are not at war anywhere.

Militarism and debt, these are the magic weapons which every country in Europe in the last 100 years has tried — some of them twice and others three times — and always with the same tragic consequences.

Yet the spending — until the war came — did not end the depression.

IN HIS first two full terms of eight years, President Roosevelt never produced any recovery whatever. When he was elected there were 11,586,000 persons unemployed. In 1939 — seven years later — when the war struck in Europe, there were still 11,369,000 persons unemployed. These figures are supplied by the American Federation of Labor. In the presence of these undisputed facts, how can any sober-minded citizen suppose that Roosevelt brought recovery to the United States?

It would be just to say that when Roosevelt entered the White House, among most Americans — including professional politicians — the subject of Communist strategy and techniques was little understood. The old Socialists had a party. They called themselves Socialists. They were proud to be known as such. They functioned as a political party, not a conspiracy. That is one reason why the Socialists under Norman Thomas made so little headway.

When the Communists moved into the picture in a large way, they operated on a wholly different plan. There was, of course, the open Communist party, headed by Earl Browder. But there was another branch of the movement — the conspiratorial branch. This department of the Communist drive was formed into numerous fronts and secret cells. For the most part, their members denied they were Communists. They insisted they were economic reformers.

And these numerous fronts were designed to appeal to every conceivable group in America that might have some pet grievance against society. The secret cells were engaged not only in espionage but in influencing American policy on the side of Soviet aims and domestic Communist objectives wherever possible. As a result of the depression, the numbers in the fronts and the cells became fairly numerous.

The work of these radical spirits, so far as government was concerned, was made somewhat easy by a curious phenomenon which appeared. The New Deal began in a carnival of rushing activity when Roosevelt took office.

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Wherever some group or state or industry or country or economic element appeared with a grievance, a bureau was formed. These bureaus became a wondrous gift to the Reds, who proceeded to infiltrate them on an amazing scale.

The ease with which this adventure was carried out is best illustrated by the manner in which these Pink and Red ideological warriors moved even into the White House itself. Apparently they guessed shrewdly when they latched on the apron strings of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the mistress of the White House. There was an organization known as the American Youth Congress. It had been branded by the FBI as a Communist front. It was headed by a gent named William Wheeler Hinckley. He was a frequent visitor to the White House, and after four years of leadership in the Youth Congress, he was promoted by the White House to a job in the U. S. Office of Education, then the Railroad Retirement Board, and finally the Treasury Department.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities eventually got around to investigating this group. Hinckley, Joe Lash, Joe Cadden and others, summoned as witnesses, were delivered to the Congressional committee room in a White House automobile chaperoned by Mrs. Roosevelt. At one point during the hearings, one of these precious lads, tiring of the ordeal, went to sleep on Mrs. Roosevelt's shoulder. The whole gang were entertained at the White House and Franklin D. Roosevelt sent his personal greetings to the American Youth Congress when it met.

In 1938, the President began what came to be known as a purge of Congressmen and Senators who were *persona non grata* in the White House. At the time Earl Browder, who had the run of the White House, directed that purge and he personally telephoned from the White House to various places instructions for carrying out the purge. This is difficult to believe, but it is a fact. When Mrs. Browder attempted to enter the United States illegally by way of Canada, instructions to make her way easy and quick were telephoned to United States consular officials. The official who handled her case has testified that he was not to ask any embarrassing questions.

J. B. Matthews, who has the greatest abundance of reports, files and information on this subject, has written that a committee of five nationally known Communists called at the White House and presented the President with a portrait of himself. As they left the White House they were photographed with White House Secretary Marvin McIntyre in the group — a precious testimonial to show Moscow how well they were doing.

On one occasion Mrs. Roosevelt invited forty Senators to the White House to meet her petted group of Officials of the American Youth Congress. Roosevelt himself was constantly sending "greetings" to various Red organizations, such as the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the Workers Alliance, the National Negro Congress, while Mrs. Roosevelt permitted the use of her name as sponsor or officer and sometimes as a speaker for more than 30 Communist fronts, leagues, councils, and associations.

ALL THESE activities are cited merely to reveal the extent to which Roosevelt not only permitted but actually encouraged the activities of the Communist conspiracy in the United States. The blindness of the White House opened the way for the Red conspirators into almost every important function of political, economic, and educational life. The movies swarmed with them. So did the stage, the American journals of opinion, and every other organ of information and opinion.

*When Roosevelt faced Stalin at Yalta, Alger Hiss — Stalin's man — was at Roosevelt's side as his adviser.*

*When Roosevelt faced the problem of postwar Germany at Quebec, Harry Dexter White was there to shape Roosevelt's decisions.*

*When the question of China arose — who should control it, the Free Chinese or the Chinese Reds — there was the Institute of Pacific Relations, swarming with Reds, and its leading light Owen Lattimore, with an arm in the State Department. The result — the betrayal and abandonment of Free China.*

There remains one humiliating blot — perhaps the blackest — on the Roosevelt record. This was his betrayal of Eastern Europe and nearly all of Asia into the hands of Stalin. The story of the great conferences, as well as one of the more secret and less advertised little talks, appear in my book, *The Roosevelt Myth*. It remains merely to offer a picture of

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the immensity of the betrayal of the free world by Roosevelt to the Communist revolutionists.

I have always believed that Stalin, long before he had any direct dealings with Roosevelt, had him studied thoroughly — his mind, his bias, his appetites, his knowledge of affairs, his vanity, and his growing delusions of grandeur. It is certain that in all their contacts, Stalin walked off with his objectives completely satisfied.

It is perhaps forgotten that as World War II opened, Stalin and Russia appeared on the stage as the ally of Hitler. That struggle began when Hitler sent his legions across the German border in an attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. Immediately, Britain and France, honoring their treaty with Poland, declared war on Germany. The struggle in Poland was swift and short. Within two weeks, Poland was prostrate. Shortly after Hitler's assault, within a month, Stalin notified the Polish Ambassador in Moscow that Russian troops were being sent across the Polish frontier to protect Soviet interests in that country. The Russian and German armies made contact at Brest-Litovsk on September 18, without any serious fighting.

Immediately Hitler sent his seasoned troops to the Western front along the famous Maginot Line. Joseph P. Kennedy, Roosevelt's Ambassador to Great Britain, issued a statement in which he said: "There is no place in the fighting for us. . . . As you love America, don't let anything that comes out of our country in the world make you believe you can make the situation one whit better by getting into the war." This represented clearly the attitude of the American people.

But there is now no doubt that Franklin D. Roosevelt had made up his mind at an early date to put America into that war. How he actually accomplished it has been told in large part by a man of high authority who was at the center of the shocking episode (*The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor* by Rear Admiral Robert A. Theobald).

But however the project was managed, we must stand aghast at the manner in which the fruits of victory were delivered and to whom. You have but to look at the map to find the answer to the question — Who won the war? As the war in Europe began, with Hitler and Stalin as partners, the whole swarm of Reds and Pinks here — Roosevelt's numerous task forces in the United States who had embroiled him in so many pro-Communist schemes — were screaming at him to stay out of the war. Many of that abominable group of young Reds in the American Youth Congress could be found picketing the White House — the home of their blessed First Lady — against giving arms to Britain. But the moment came when Hitler, feeling he had the Western allies under control, decided to settle accounts with his erstwhile ally Stalin. When he struck, as if by magic, all the Reds, organized and unorganized, from the colleges and the newspapers and the magazines and the radio, and even some pulpits, made a swift about-face and hurled themselves into the arms of their old friends, President and Mrs. Roosevelt.

From that moment, the pro-Russian bloc in the United States inserted itself into the pro-war movement. Not only did they begin to play a controlling role in the push to get us into the war, but on a far more malignant scale, they managed to control the mind of the slowly decaying Roosevelt. In a series of conferences, Roosevelt, and later Truman, surrendered into Stalin's hands a whole collection of peoples whose lands comprised, along with Russia, almost two-thirds of the entire land mass of Europe and Asia.

Thus Stalin added to his empire some 725 *million people,* which with the 193 million in Russia gave him dominion over 918 *million human beings* in Russia and 16 other European and Asiatic countries.

As one looks back over these costly years of confusion and betrayal, it is difficult to believe that one man — Roosevelt — in so short a time could inflict so much damage on a great system of social order that had endured for 145 years. The enormity of his offenses was lost behind the smoke and hurly-burly of the war. But now the facts are all before us.

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**HUMAN EVENTS** was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. *It is published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.,* and reports from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It is usually published in two parts: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article. $10 per year.

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